

ABORIGINAL CULTURE TRAITS AS REFLECTED IN 18TH-CENTURY DELAWARE INDIAN TREE NAMES¹

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In the *Ohio Journal of Science* (Mahr, 1953) the writer described a method of locating Indian localities on modern maps by means of analyzing a few 18th-century Delaware Indian place names as to their semantic components, and then checking the descriptions which they provided against the topography of the areas in question, as presented on the respective Quadrangle sheets of the U. S. Geological Survey Map.

Not only could these localities be identified beyond any reasonable doubt, but a much more significant result was obtained besides: it became evident that the principle which governs the compounding of these place names is a revealing expression of the Delaware's basic attitude toward their natural environment. Continued studies showed that this formative principle likewise underlies their names for plants, animals, and also inanimate objects.

As a fact of major significance it was learned that by far the majority of Delaware appellations of practically all sorts were dynamically functional, rather than statically descriptive, in character. Hence, they promised, upon semantic analysis, an abundant yield of first-hand clues to diverse aboriginal culture traits of the Delaware, or Lenni Lenape, Indians; at such detail, moreover, as hardly obtainable from any other sources.

This assertion will presently be confirmed by the semantic analysis of a few 18th-century Delaware Indian names for trees and tree products. The terms to be analyzed, as well as those used in substantiating their etymologies, have been taken from the Delaware column of David Zeisberger's *Dictionary in Four Languages*, compiled by him and some of his Moravian fellow-missioners, during the 1770's and 1780's, in the Tuscarawas Mission area of eastern Ohio. In 1887, the manuscript was published, without much editing, by E. N. Horsford, but has been out of print for many years. The four language columns, covering each of the 362 pages of the original manuscript in the Howard University Library, are, from left to right, English, German, Onondaga (which is Iroquoian), and Delaware (which is Algonquian). The main obstacle to this dictionary's previous use as a source for language and culture studies was found in the fact, brought out in the past by several critics, that Zeisberger and his Moravian helpers had listed the Delaware terms indiscriminately in either Unami or Munsee, the two main Delaware dialects, without ever indicating which was which. After having found out, however, how nevertheless those multiple-stem compounds can be separated and interpreted, and by drawing inferences by analogy, this writer eventually obtained workable results. A valuable clue to the procedure to be followed was offered by Zeisberger (1910), page 144, who states that "the dialect of the Munsee . . . is a key to many expressions of the Unami. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the Munsee dialect it would be impossible either to spell certain Unami words or to guess their meaning. The Unami adopted many words from the Munsee, and the Munsee, from the Unami."

For the acquiring of practice in discriminating between the two dialects, Voegelin (1940) proved basically helpful.

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Zeisberger's and other Moravians' spelling of Delaware terms, which is based on their native German phonology, has been transcribed, in these pages, into a more intelligible spelling mainly based on English usage; for example: *sch* has been changed into *sh*, *g* into *k*, *b* into *p*, *-eu* into *-ew*, *j* into *y*; while the vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, also when duplicated for length, have retained their German sound values, the same applying to *ch*. Wherever *tch* occurs, it is the equivalent of *ch* as in Eng. *church*. Zeisberger's *wu-*, or *we-* (*w*-plus *sheva*) is represented, in these pages, by *w'-*; similarly, *mu-*, or *me-*, by *m'-*. Where (*'*) occurs, following any other consonant, or preceding a vowel, it has the sound value of a 'stop'.

These phonological approximations were adopted after a careful check against the sound conditions in Delaware dialects extant today, as presented by Voegelin (1940).

Before proceeding to analyze the names of specific trees, a few Delaware terms pertaining to the Forest and to some of its vital products will be examined as a typical demonstration of the principle governing the Delaware approach to the naming of things.

The Delaware term, in Zeisberger's *Dictionary*, for 'forest, woods', is *tékene*. Far from carrying any connotation of what we associate with 'forest', or the Germans, with *Wald*, *Busch*, namely a 'continuous area covered with trees', *tékene* denotes 'an uninhabited place', a definition listed, by way of explanation, by Brinton (1888). Only with the aid of this essential hint has it been possible to interpret *tékene* as a contraction, almost beyond recognition, of an older Munsee or early Unami form **ta/wiik/heen/e*, of the following composition: (*at*)*ta-*, negative prefix denoting 'no, not'; *wiik-*, stem with the meaning of 'structure'; *-heen*, 'to make'; and *-e*, suffix of place or time; adding up to a composite meaning: 'no building of houses here'. It indicates that the Delaware Indians did not build their dwellings in the forest proper but rather in open places near its fringes.

The stem, *wiik-*, denoting 'structure', is likewise present in *wiik/pi*, a Delaware term for 'tree bark'. Its remaining component, *-pi*, in whatever compound it may occur, signifies 'substance', or, more specifically, 'material to do it with'. Zeisberger's *Dictionary* carries the English definitions, 'bast', and 'inner bark of trees', while its German equivalent likewise is '*der Bast*'. In this connection it is significant that another English name for the Linden (*Tilia americana* L.) is 'Basswood' (*bass* for *bast*), indicating that Linden 'bast' was, and still is, preferred for some human uses to that of other trees. The Delaware, moreover, had a specific term for 'Linden bast': *lénni/iik/pi*. Being compounded from *lénni-*, denoting 'real, original', and *wiik/pi*, 'building material', it indirectly shows that the Delaware did not consider any other 'bast' for the building of their dwellings so long as 'Linden bast', *lénni/iik/pi*, the 'real building material', was available. In fact, Heckewelder (1888), page 401, in discussing the various household uses of Linden bast in the Delaware community, writes that "a house thus built [that is, with its roof and sides made of Linden bast] is called *lennikgawon*, 'original house or hut'." This term, more explicitly written, **lenn/iik/káwan*, is a compound from *lénni-*, 'real, original'; *wiik-*, 'structure'; and **woakáwan*, 'a shelter'; with the composite meaning of 'shelter constructed of real building material'. By the way, the Unami term, *wiik/woám*, 'a house, hut', is contracted from an older form, **wiik/woakáw/an*, specifically denoting 'a built shelter', in contrast to 'a natural shelter', such as a cave. The latter meaning is fully expressed by **woakáw/an* alone, which is the generic term for 'shelter', compounded from *woakáwi*, 'around', and noun suffix, *-an*, with the composite meaning of 'something all around'.

One may be expected to ask: What building material *did* the Delawares use when Linden bast, *lénni/iik/pi*, the *real* thing, was not available? This question, too, can be answered with the aid of semantic analysis. As a Delaware name for 'Elm Tree' (*Ulmus americana* L.) Zeisberger's *Dictionary* lists *áchk/iik/pi*. This term neither describes, nor carries any connotation of, an Elm or

any other tree. In fact, if it were not for its English equivalent listed in the *Dictionary*, one could not possibly tell, from the semantic analysis of the Delaware term, that it functioned as a tree name. The first of its components, *achki-*, a stem with about the same meaning as Eng. 'mock' in, let us say, 'mock turtle soup', indicates that it is not the 'real' thing but rather a 'substitute'. The remainder again is *wiik/pi* 'building material (tree bast)'; thus giving *áchk/iik/pi* the composite meaning of 'substitute material (bast) for building'. This clearly implies that, lacking 'Linden bast', the bast of the American Elm served as a 'substitute' in the erecting of the *wiik/woám*, 'the man-made shelter (house, hut)'.

As the Delaware generic term for 'tree bark', the *Dictionary* lists Unami *anéchw* (or *anéchkw*), which corresponds to a more explicit Munsee form, **wonáchkw/ew*, denoting 'it is on top'. There is also listed Unami *anechw*/'*ndál/t/ai*, with the definition 'bark canoe'. Since the first component, *anéchw*, signifies *no specific* bark, the compound likewise indicates that it is the *generic* term for 'bark canoe'. Its other components are: *naal-*, a stem denoting 'to fetch'; euphonic *-t-*; and noun suffix, *-ai*; adding up to a composite meaning of 'tree-bark thing to fetch with'.

Next, the question may arise: What trees furnished the bark for the making of canoes? The answer is: Any tree whose bark, or bast, was also used in the erecting of bark huts and houses, such as the Linden and the American Elm. The Paper Birch (*Betula papyrifera* Marsh.) likewise served both these purposes, although farther to the north and northeast than the Tuscarawas Mission area of eastern Ohio. This use of it becomes evident from its Unami name, *wihin/achk*, or *win/achk*, both variants being listed in the *Dictionary*. More explicitly written, **wiik/h'/nachkw*, it appears to be compounded from *wiik/heen*, 'to build', and **wonáchkw*, 'tree bark (generic)'; composite meaning: 'tree bark to build with'. Hence, the bark of the Paper Birch, wherever geographically accessible, can safely be claimed as a Delaware building material for both huts and canoes.

There is one more tree whose bark is sure to have been used in the making of canoes, but probably *not* in the building of huts or houses. This is evident from the fact that, in the *Dictionary*, the same term, *wisachk/aak*, in *one* place is listed as the name of the 'Black Oak' (*Quercus velutina* Lam.), and in another as 'bark canoe'. Basically, it doubtless is the name of the tree, for it is a compound of *wisachk/an*, 'something bitter (of taste)', and *-aak*, a noun affix denoting 'tree (in compounds only)'. The composite meaning is 'bitter tree', evidently from the bitter taste of its acorns, which nevertheless served as food, after having been processed by boiling. Zeisberger's definition, 'bark canoe', indicates that, besides providing nourishment, the 'Black Oak' was stripped of its bark for the making of canoes; and that the name of the tree was simply applied to the canoe made of this bark.

In view of all these Delaware names of trees which beyond a doubt furnished bark for canoes, it is quite a surprise to find in the *Dictionary* a name for the Tulip Tree, or Yellow Poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera* L.), which is *amochool/hee*, evidently a shortened form for a more complete **amochool/hée/miinshi*, which, as its analysis will presently show, makes better sense. The term is a compound of *amóchool*, the generic term for 'canoe', with *-heen*, denoting 'to make (in compounds only)' and *-miinshi*, 'tree (in compounds)'. The composite meaning plainly is 'canoe-making tree'. Since there is, however, no reference to, nor any connotation of, 'tree bark (generic)' or 'tree bark (bast)', the canoe made of this tree apparently was *not* a *bark* canoe but rather a 'dugout', that is, a canoe made by hollowing out a tree trunk with fire to a certain depth, and then scraping out the charred wood matter. This technique, which requires no metal tools, has been definitely established for the North American Indians on the aboriginal culture level, and, for the Eastern Forest Indians in particular, in regions where large trees were available, cf., Wissler (1938), page 38; Zeisberger (1910) page 23.

When Daniel G. Brinton, after 1850, had the word material for his *Lenape-*

English Dictionary, of 1888, revised by the Rev. Albert S. Anthony, by birth a Lenape, the latter took exception at some of Brinton's definitions, adding in each case his correction in parentheses. He disagreed, for example, with Brinton's English equivalent, 'poplar', for *amocholhe*, which, in this spelling, had been taken over from Zeisberger's *Dictionary*. Anthony declared *amocholhe*, 'the canoe-building tree', to be "the buttonwood or sycamore", *Platanus occidentalis* L.; cf., Brinton (1888), page 20. Far from being an error on either side, this discrepancy is easily explained. What happened is this: While the Delaware in Zeisberger's Tuscarawas Mission area used the Yellow Poplar, or Tulip Tree, as their 'canoe-making tree', the Sycamore was used for the same purpose by the Mission Indians in southern Ontario, Canada, among whom the Rev. Anthony, at that time, worked as a missionary of the Anglican Church. The Christian Indians in this region, which is well within the range of the Tulip Tree, were in the main Iroquois from New York State and apparently had been accustomed to hollow out their dugouts from Sycamore trunks, continuing to do so in southern Ontario. There, the Munsee converts of the Delaware nation, Rev. Anthony's particular charges, had acquired the use of the Sycamore as their 'canoe-building tree'.

Nothing could better exemplify the following principle: *The Indian name for any tree or plant (or animal, for that matter) was never restricted to one particular species but was freely transferred to any other which, under changed conditions, had to serve in the place of that originally used for a given purpose.* Wyman and Harris (1951), page 13, record an analogous observation in their ethnobotanical studies among the Kayenta Navaho.

Although there exists in North America only one indigenous species of Beech, *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh., Zeisberger's *Dictionary* lists two kinds, which he defines as 'the White Beech', *tanikānimiinshi*, and 'the Red Beech', *shāwemiinshi*. The erroneous notion that 'White Beech' and 'Red Beech' were two separate species rose from the fact that rapid growth, in the Beech, results in much sap wood, which is white; while slow growth results in much heartwood, which is reddish. The Delaware term for the rapidly grown 'White Beech', *tanikāni/miinshi*, apparently is an Unami contraction from a more explicit older form, **tanhakanā/hee/miinshi*, compounded with *tanhakanā/heen*, 'to make baskets', and *-miinshi*, 'tree'; composite meaning: 'basket-making tree'. In connection with another tree, Anthony, in Brinton (1888), page 104, remarks that "baskets were made from this, the strips (splints) being obtained by pounding" the wood. This statement about the Delaware's technique in obtaining splint material for baskets, "by pounding" the wood of certain trees, leads to a few essential inferences. In the first place, it helps to explain the otherwise inexplicable Delaware name for 'Red Beech', *shāwe/miinshi*, a compound of *shāwewi*, 'weak', and *-miinshi*, 'tree', meaning 'the weak tree.' As any wood-working artisan will assure us, the slow-grown, reddish heartwood of the Beech is anything but 'weak'. It is weak, however, from the standpoint of the basketmaker, because it is hard-fibred and likely to splinter when pounded, but will not make pliable splints as does the rapidly grown white beech wood. It is most likely, therefore, that *shāwe/miinshi*, 'the weak tree', was a term coined by the Delaware women, for they were the basketmakers and, as such, the only ones who could tell from experience that the reddish beech wood was weak. It can further be inferred that this term belongs to an ancient cultural stratum because, on the later cultural level of wood-working, done by the men, and effectively done only with the metal tools adopted from the whites, these men would never have named this tree 'the weak tree'.

As the makers of splint baskets, those Delaware women practiced an ancient and wide-spread skill. Wissler (1938), page 52, writes, as follows: "Down the Mississippi and south from the Great Lakes, across the Antilles and on into the manioc or Amazon area of South America, basketry has one common characteristic

in that it is made of flat or splint-like materials. . . . North of the Ohio River and in New England where suitable cane was not to be had, we find wood splints in use. They are made from the easily separated annual layers of certain trees. It seems a reasonable assumption that a historical connection exists between those two forms [cane and splint basketry], and since basketry of cane is very widely distributed and materials more readily prepared, we may suspect this to be the parent form."

Another source of basket splints was a tree of the Ash family, whose "easily separated annual layers" were prepared for the purpose "by pounding". Under the definition of 'black ash', Zeisberger's *Dictionary* lists *pachkám/aak*. It doubtless is the Black Ash, also called Hoop Ash, *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh. The Delaware name, *pachkám/aak* is contracted from **pachkánd/ammen*, 'to beat, pound, maul', affixed with *-aak*, 'tree (in compounds)'; composite meaning: 'the pounding-tree'.

Zeisberger lists 'a Maple Tree' with the Delaware name of *shiichikimiinshi*; according to Anthony, in Brinton (1888), page 128, it is 'the Soft Maple'; either *Acer saccharinum* L., the Silver Maple, or *Acer rubrum* L., the Red Maple; cf., Trees (1949), page 776. Zeisberger's *shiich/hiki/miinshi* (accent uncertain), evidently is a variant (probably Unami) pronunciation of a more revealing **tchiich/hiki/miinshi*. Its first component clearly is *tchiich/hikan*, which is listed in the *Dictionary* under two separate headings: 'broom', and 'comb'; the second component is *-miinshi*, 'tree'. Accordingly, the composite meaning is either, 'the broom tree', or, 'the comb tree'. It is not likely that, on the aboriginal culture level, with metal tools not yet in use, wooden combs were made by the Delaware. Hence, the meaning, 'broom tree', is to be given preference. Yet it is not impossible that a stiff hand broom, in between a brush and a comb, was made of 'Soft Maple' twigs for the grooming of human hair, thus rendering the meaning, 'comb tree', likewise acceptable.

The significance of *tchiich-* evidently is 'clean, neat'. In both form and meaning, it appears to be related, if not identical, with *kchiich-*, likewise meaning 'clean'. Added to it is *-hikan*, 'device, tool, to do it with (in compounds only)'. In its last analysis, **tchiich/-hiki/miinshi* means 'device-to-slick-up-with tree'. In this connection it may be noted that the current American slang term, 'a doohickey' (Webster's New Internat. Dict., 1952), may be a forgotten gift of the Delaware, originally meaning the same as the Delaware term, *-hikan*. This is all the more plausible since, from the very beginning of their contacts with the whites, the Delaware had formed a great many terms for tools, mainly for acquired ones, on this old affix, *-hikan*, as Zeisberger's *Dictionary* amply proves.

Like the Hoop Ash and the Soft Maple a member of the plant association of the river bottoms, 'The Yellow Tree' is listed in the *Dictionary* with two Delaware names: *wisá/miinshi*, and *wisáw/EEK*. The former combines *wisáw/ew*, '(it is) yellow', with *-miinshi*, 'tree'; while the latter combines *wisáw/ew* with *-EEK*, a suffix denoting 'that which is'. The one means 'yellow tree'; and the other, 'that which is yellow'. It was obviously named for the yellow dye extracted from it. Its description by Zeisberger (1910), page 52, "The wood is soft and yellowish. The leaves are smooth and somewhat oblong oval," leaves no doubt about its being the Yellow Buckthorn, or Indian Cherry, *Rhamnus caroliniana* Walt. Hough (1907), page 349, states that its "berries, varying from scarlet to black according to degree of ripeness, are . . . sweet and edible," and that "they are ripening in early autumn." They must have possessed a singular attractiveness for the raccoons, for Zeisberger lists still another Delaware name for this tree: *espan/i/miinshi*, with the definitions, 'yellow Wood, or Raccoon Tree'; from *espan*, 'raccoon'; *-i-* (*-wi-*), copula; and *-miinshi*, 'tree'. Since, according to Zeisberger (1910), page 61, the Indians relished the flesh of the Raccoon as much as they did bear meat, and used its pelt in trading, they also knew, as this latter

tree name clearly indicates, that the best place to hunt it were the Buckthorn trees and bushes, when in early fall the berries were black and sweet.

In the Tuscarawas bottoms, near the Moravian Mission stations of Schönbrunn and Gnadenhütten, there also grew a tree which the *Dictionary* lists as *macht-chiikpiak*, with the definition, 'papa', or pappa', as it reads in the Moravian spelling. What is meant is the Papaw Tree, *Asimina triloba* (L.) Dunal. When written, more intelligibly, **machk/tch'/iikpi/-aak*, the following composition presents itself: *máchkew*, '(it is) red', *tchíttiani*, 'strong', *wítk/pi*, 'tree bast', and *-aak*, affix denoting 'tree'; composite meaning: 'tree with red, strong bast'. Hough (1907), page 217, states that "the fibrous inner bark was formerly used for making cord for fish nets." Even Indians living today use this exceedingly strong fiber for various purposes.

The Delaware terms so far discussed were names of trees or tree products which functioned in the Lenni Lenape's aboriginal technology. In analyzing the names of trees which by the English colonists and the German Moravians had been named for the edible wild fruit they bear, this writer has found that frequently the corresponding Delaware terms stress entirely different uses of such trees, with or without an indication that also their fruit was eaten.

A good example for such an indicator of multiple use is the Delaware name, *neesk/achkw/iim/miinshi*, listed in the *Dictionary* with Zeisberger's definition, 'Wild Cherry Tree'. It doubtless is the Wild Black Cherry, *Prunus serotina* Ehrh., which is native to the river bottom of the Tuscarawas valley. The Delaware term is compounded from **neeskew*, '(it is) filthy'; **wonáchkw*, 'tree bark (generic)'; *-iim*, an affix denoting 'fruit', in compounds; and *-miinshi*, 'tree'. Hence, the composite meaning is 'filthy bark-and-fruit tree'. Brinton (1888), in listing a later name, *múi/miinshi*, for 'Wild Cherry Tree', is even more outspoken about the nature of the filth, *múi-* denoting 'dung'. To appreciate either Delaware name for this tree, one must have watched the birds, mainly American Robins and Cedar Waxwings (the latter also known as Cherry Birds), gorging themselves with black wild cherries, the dark purplish matter running out nearly as fast as it is taken in. It may be noted that the meaning of the aboriginal name, 'filthy bark-and-fruit tree', indicates that both the bark and the fruits were used; the bark, for medicinal purposes, the cherries as food, but also as a dye-stuff.

Another such multiple-use indicator is the Delaware name listed in the *Dictionary* as *woakhattiminshi*, with the definition, 'The Mulberry Tree', which is, of course, the Red Mulberry, *Morus rubra* L., the only native species of the genus. This term, **woak/hatt/iim/miinshi*, is compounded from *woak-*, 'round (curved), bent' (as in *woak/tchinni*, 'to bend') *-hatton*, 'to place, or fix, something'; *-iim*, affix denoting 'fruit'; and *-miinshi*, 'tree'. The composite meaning is: 'fruit-bearing tree used for placing something in curved shape'; specifically, tree-branches, to serve as the framework for bark huts; originally, of the type illustrated in Hodges (1907), I, 518 (bottom of page).

The same connotation is present in the *Dictionary's* term for Dogwood, that is, mainly the Flowering Dogwood, *Cornus florida* L.; it is **hatt/'áwan/o/miinshi*, compounded from *hatton*, 'to place, or fix, something'; **woakáwan*, 'shelter, hut'; (-o- (-w'-), copula; and *-miinshi*, 'tree'; composite meaning: 'tree used in placing a hut'. This indicates that the Dogwood served, as did the Red Mulberry, to make of its bent branches the frame of the hut, to which the 'bast' was fastened.

Again with the definition, 'Dogwood', the *Dictionary* lists another term: *moon/hak/an/i/miinshi*. Its composition is clear: *moon/hák/een*, 'to dig the ground' (from *moon-*, stem denoting 'to dig'; *hákí*, 'ground'; and *-een*, verb suffix indicating 'action'); *-an*, noun suffix, 'thing', making *moon/hák/an* mean 'a thing to dig the ground with', that is, 'a digging-stick'. Affixed with *-i* (-wi-), copula; and *-miinshi*, 'tree', the composite meaning of the entire term is 'digging-

stick tree'. It implies that the Delaware preferred the Dogwood for the making of digging-sticks, which were an indispensable implement in the planting of Indian corn on the aboriginal level of agriculture, as brought out by Wissler (1938), page 21.

This is another typical case where Anthony, in Brinton (1888), page 86, finds Zeisberger in "error" for his identifying *moon/hak/an/i/miinshi* with 'Dogwood', and declares that the correct definition is "the black haw bush or tree" (*Viburnum prunifolium* L.). Here again, as previously exemplified in these pages (above, page 383), there is no "error" involved, but, under changed conditions, another plant species than that originally used, was applied to a given purpose.

Rather than continue with the analyses of some more of the many tree names at his disposal, this writer wishes to conclude this selection of typical cases by the discussion of two terms which are equally significant technologically and linguistically. Both of them have to do with the patching of damaged bark canoes and huts.

According to a remark in Zeisberger's *Dictionary*, such repair work was done with "the bast (of) the White Elm (which) the Indians use like Hemp and oakum to stop leaks." The tree here mentioned most likely is the American Elm, *Ulmus americana* L. The patching substance referred to is evidently identical with another substance described by Zeisberger (1910), page 23, as "a kind of elm-wood bast which they crush or pound fine and which is of a sticky consistency, serving them in place of tar, to keep their canoes water-tight so that they do not leak." In the *Dictionary*, a Delaware term *améechkwan*, is listed, with the definitions, 'glue', German '*Kleister, Leim*', which seems to denote this very canoe-patching paste. The term, *am/éech/kwan*, more intelligibly written, **am/-'iich/kwoan*, appears to be one of those shortened Unami forms which are contracted almost beyond recognition. Its first syllable, *am-*, suggests *amóchool*, 'a canoe (generic)', while the remainder, *-'iich/kwoan*, points to **takw/iich/kwoan*, 'it is joined together'; making a composite meaning of 'the canoe, it is joined together', that is, 'it has been made tight'. 'To patch' is **takw/iich/kwámmen*, while **takw/iich/kwóókan* means 'a patch'.

Another, equally revealing, term for 'glue (patching paste)' is listed in the *Dictionary* as **m'sukkw/oókan*. It is compounded with **m'súkkw/i* (for **m'súkkw/pi*, really: 'chew matter'), meaning 'spittle'; and *-oókan*, an affix denoting 'substance'; composite meaning: 'substance made with spittle'. This suggests that it was produced by chewing the 'bast' of the Slippery Elm, *Ulmus fulva* Michx., since that bast, when mixed with saliva (*n'sukkw/ándama*, 'I chew'), is known to produce a mucilaginous wad, which, as indicated by the *Dictionary's* definition, 'glue', for **m'sukkw/oókan*, was utilized by the Delaware for repair work by means of glued-on patches.

There is a slight possibility, though, that this chewed-bark patching matter came from a tree, listed in the *Dictionary* as *tó/pi*, with the English definition, 'Alder Tree'. This Unami form, *tó/pi*, could be identified as a contraction of a more explicit, **tákw/pi*, compounded with *takw-*, a stem with the connotation of 'joining (things) together' (cf. above); and the affix, *-pi*, denoting 'substance, material to do it with'. This interpretation of *tó/pi* was suggested by an observation of John Josselyn (1672), an early traveler in the American Colonies, telling of an Indian who healed his bruised and cut knee with a compress of chewed Alder bark. This evidently is what the Delaware meant by **tákw/pi* (*tó/pi*), 'join-together substance'. Secondly, the term also functioned as the name of the tree which furnished the bark: the Speckled Alder, *Alnus rugosa* (DuRoi) Spreng. Although not impossible, yet it is highly doubtful whether this ancient remedy against cuts and bruises was also used for the patching of bark canoes and huts.

SUMMARY

What has been presented in these pages is only a small selection from a comprehensive study along the same lines. When completed, it is hoped that it may furnish some deeper insight into both the culture and the acculturation of the Delaware, if not even, to some extent, of the Eastern Forest Indians in general, in Colonial times.

At any rate, this writer hopes to have presented sufficient proof that his method of semantic analysis as here followed provides the key to the solution of the one or other problem such as arises in the culture study of ethnic groups.

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